

INCOMING TELEGRAM

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QUESTION OF REASON FOR EAST BERLIN'S EXCLUSION FROM "FREE

CITY" PLAN WAS PUT INFORMALLY BY WESTERN DIPLOMATS TO
GROMYKO ON NOVEMBER 28 AND MIKOYAN AND GROMYKO ON NOVEMBER 29.
POINTS MADE IN THEIR REPLIES WERE THAT UNIFICATION OF TWO
PARTS OF CITY WITH DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS WOULD BE AS
UNREALISTIC AS REUNIFICATION GERMANY, THAT GDR CAPITAL AND
GOVERNMENT WERE ACTUALLY IN EAST BERLIN, THAT EAST SECTOR WAS
CLOSELY TIED TO GDR IN ECONOMIC MATTERS, AND THAT FUTURE MOVES
TOWARD "CONFEDERATION" REQUIRED EACH GERMAN STATE TO HAVE OWN
TERRITORY AND CAPITAL.

TO THESE TYPICALLY SOVIET ARGUMENTS MIGHT BE ADDED MOSCOW'S
DESIRE TO PRESERVE CONTROL OF ALL TERRITORY NOW EFFECTIVELY
IN ITS ORBIT AND KREMLIN UNWILLINGNESS TO LET CITIZENS OF
COMMUNIST AREA VOTE OVERWHELMINGLY FOR NON-COMMUNIST PARTIES
(AS EAST BERLINERS PROBABLY WOULD IF GIVEN CHANCE).

NEVERTHELESS, WE SHOULD BY NO MEANS EXCLUDE POSSIBILITY THAT
SOVIETS NOT ONLY HAVE VARIOUS FALBACK POSITIONS ON BERLIN
FOR POSSIBLE EVENTUAL USE, BUT ALSO HAVE NUMBER OF FURTHER
MOVES PLANNED FOR NEXT SIX MONTHS TO KEEP THEIR INITIATIVE ON
QUESTION AND TO KEEP WEST OFF BALANCE. SUCH MOVES NEED NOT
BE LIMITED TO PRESSURE TACTICS BUT COULD INCLUDE POLITICAL

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-2- 1232, DECEMBER 8, 1 PM FROM MOSCOW

DEVICES TO MAKE KHRUSHCHEV PROPOSAL LESS UNATTRACTIVE.

IN THIS CONTEXT, SOVIET OFFER TO INCLUDE EAST BERLIN IS CONCEIVABLE, AND WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY BE APPEALING TO MANY BECAUSE FOR FIRST TIME SINCE BERLIN CRISIS STARTED, EAST WOULD ALSO APPEAR TO BE OFFERING TANGIBLE CONCESSION TO "REASONABLENESS". NO DOUBT SOVIETS ARE GENUINELY RELUCTANT TO TRY THIS APPROACH ON ABOVE-NOTED GROUNDS, AND IT IS LOGICAL FOR THEM TO BE SOUNDING OUT "THIRD PARTIES" AND DROPPING HINTS TO TEST REACTIONS OF WEST. IF WESTERN GOVERNMENTS SEEM TO REJECT IT FIRMLY, THIS MIGHT INCREASE SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO MAKE OFFER (ON THEORY THAT IT IS UNLIKELY TO BE ACCEPTED), BUT THEY MIGHT STILL DO IT EVEN THOUGH THEY EXPECTED TO BE CALLED ON TO IMPLEMENT PROPOSAL.

ONLY SPECIFIC RUMOR I HAVE HEARD HERE IS THAT REPORTED EMBTEL 1193. SINCE PRESIDIUM DISCUSSIONS OF THIS IMPORTANCE DO NOT LEAK ACCIDENTALLY THIS MUST BE EITHER PURELY SPECULATIVE RUMOR OR ELSE DELIBERATE PLANT.

THOMPSON

PK

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